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Summary record of the 15th meeting
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Chairman: Mr. Mapuranga ..... (Zimbabwe)
later: Mr. Mounkhou (Vice Chairman) ..... (Mongolia)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.05 p.m.

Agenda item 88: Comprehensive review of the whole question of peacekeeping operations in all their aspects (*continued*) (A/52/209; A/C.4/52/L.9)

1. **Mr. Owada** (Japan) said that, since the end of the cold war, the international community had witnessed a proliferation of conflicts stemming from diverse factors. Most of those conflicts took place within the borders of given States, but had military and political repercussions on neighbouring countries and could often result in refugee flows, thereby posing a threat to regional peace and security. In that new situation, United Nations peacekeeping operations were being called upon to play increasingly new and expanded roles.

2. The fact that the number of cases in which the United Nations had dispatched peacekeeping missions to areas of conflict had declined sharply in recent years was striking. The number of personnel deployed had been reduced from approximately 80,000 in 1994 to a little over 14,000 at the end of October 1997. During the previous two years, apart from the United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA), no new operation had been launched.

3. It was incumbent on the international community to make fuller use of that ingenious device in the hands of the United Nations and put in place arrangements for the prompt dispatch of peacekeeping operations to areas of conflict whenever such action was warranted. In addition to the usual requirements for determining what constituted justification for those measures, such as the existence of a ceasefire between the conflicting parties and the consent of the parties to the dispatch of a peacekeeping mission, a judicious judgement of the situation was required to determine whether the dispatch of a peacekeeping mission would achieve the desired goals by preventing a deterioration of the situation and whether the expected benefits were worth the cost of the operation.

4. In that regard, the delegation of Japan was gravely concerned at the recent trend in the United Nations to take an unduly sceptical attitude towards the launching of peacekeeping operations, mainly because such operations always incurred expenses at a time when the Organization was already suffering from a budget deficit. While the cost factor was an important consideration in any undertaking of the United Nations, however, it should not be the absolute yardstick by which to decide on an action which, if undertaken in a timely manner, would prevent the development of situations that could cost the Organization and its Member States much more.

5. The Government of Japan now wished to present its views on three salient aspects of the issue, which the international community should urgently address in order to strengthen United Nations peacekeeping operations. First, reiterating the position already expressed by Japan at the 1997 session of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and in view of the distinctive new features of recent conflicts, especially in Africa, it was important to look at the role of peacekeeping operations in providing assistance for international activities in the humanitarian field. Providing humanitarian assistance to those in need in times of armed conflict was one of the essential activities of the United Nations. In view of the increasing need for closer coordination and cooperation between United Nations activities to provide humanitarian assistance and peacekeeping missions in situations of conflict, it was necessary for the United Nations to devise a much more comprehensive strategy to cope with conflict situations in an organic manner, covering the whole process of peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace-building in a continuum, through cooperation among humanitarian aid agencies, peacekeeping operations and development agencies working in the field.

6. With those considerations in mind, Japan had convened an international conference on strategies for conflict prevention and management, which would take place in Tokyo in January of the following year. It was envisaged that the conference, which would focus on, *inter alia*, the current situation in Africa, would address the problem of the continuum, including the role of peacekeeping operations in that process.

7. The second point, to which Japan attached particular importance, related to the timing of the launching of peacekeeping operations. As the situation in the Republic of the Congo had recently demonstrated, it was extremely difficult to choose the proper time for launching a peacekeeping operation in a concrete situation. For that, it was necessary to make not only a strategic but also a political judgement of the first order. In addition, if the operation was to be successful, the time between the point at which the Security Council took up the question of whether to launch an operation and the point at which it was effectively launched had to be as short as possible. Seen from that perspective, the proposal for the establishment of a rapidly deployable mission headquarters and of the Multinational United Nations Stand-by Forces High Readiness Brigade (SHIRBRIG) merited appreciation and deserved to be implemented as early as possible.

8. The third point which Japan wished to make concerned coordination and cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations and arrangements. It was common knowledge that regional organizations, such as the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in Africa, the Organization of American States (OAS) in the Americas and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Europe, were playing an increasingly important role in the fields of regional peace and security, especially in cases where the Security Council entrusted them with certain functions in connection with a situation arising within a region. The recent efforts of ECOWAS in Sierra Leone and the activities in Central Africa of the Inter-African Mission to Monitor the Implementation of the Bangui Agreements (MISAB) might serve as useful models for that type of cooperation. Japan believed that the trend towards the revitalization of the roles of regional institutions working in close cooperation with the United Nations in the field of peace and security and operating under Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, particularly Article 53 thereof, was to be commended.

9. In recent years, the participation of the United Nations in the delivery of humanitarian assistance to refugees and internally displaced persons had become a pressing task for the Organization and, in particular, for the Security Council, especially in the light of recent experiences in the Great Lakes region. It was of paramount importance for the principle of impartiality to be observed by United Nations peacekeeping operations as a prerequisite for the effective functioning of such operations in assisting the humanitarian activities on the ground. In that connection, the safety of personnel engaged in assistance activities had been and remained a source of major concern, as the recent examples of Tajikistan and the Great Lakes region had shown. Japan firmly believed that one of the steps which each Member State could take was to decide to become a party to the Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel and to bring that Convention into force without delay. That, however, was not sufficient. The adoption of a legal instrument would not in itself eliminate the problem. All States should consider ways and means of strengthening the protection of such personnel in a pragmatic manner. For its part, Japan was prepared to cooperate closely with like-minded Member States in exploring further possibilities for improving the current situation in that regard.

10. **Mr. Ong** (Singapore) said that his delegation associated itself with the statement made on the item under consideration at the previous meeting by the representative of Thailand on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The end of the cold war had been followed by a marked increase in United Nations peacekeeping activities. When the old bipolar structure of global politics had collapsed, historical hostilities, both within and between States, had resurfaced. Between 1988 and 1996, the United Nations had deployed 28 peacekeeping missions, two thirds of all peacekeeping operations in the history of the United Nations. The role of the participants in those operations had increased in scope and complexity.

11. In that new international climate, the major Powers had demonstrated a greater political will to use the Security Council to seek solutions to conflicts. In those attempts to utilize peacekeeping operations to achieve more ambitious objectives, the mandates for peacekeeping operations had become increasingly complex, and over the past few years it had become clear that the capacity of the United Nations in the sphere of peacekeeping was limited. There had been a sense of "peacekeeping fatigue" and an increased tendency towards greater caution in establishing mandates for peacekeeping operations. Annual United Nations peacekeeping expenditure had declined from a peak of US$ 3.6 billion in December 1994 to US$ 1.2 billion in 1997. Now that the euphoria at the end of the cold war had subsided, expectations of what the United Nations could accomplish had been tempered, and it was possible to take stock of the successes and failures of the past few years more realistically and chart new directions for fulfilling the objective of maintaining international peace and security laid down in the Charter.

12. Singapore remained firmly committed to the work of the United Nations. It had taken part in United Nations peacekeeping operations in Namibia, Kuwait, Angola, Cambodia and Guatemala and in the Special Mission to Afghanistan. In addition, it had contributed three gratis officers to assist the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Whenever and wherever its resources permitted, Singapore would continue to support United Nations peacekeeping activities.

13. It was clear that those activities could not be abandoned. The public image of the work of the United Nations would continue to be determined largely by the activities of the peacekeeping troops. For that reason, and in order to contribute to the Committee's deliberations on the issue, his delegation wished to highlight some of the challenges which the United Nations would face in its peacekeeping efforts in the near future.

14. First, United Nations peacekeeping operations must have clear and achievable goals. As a result of the pressure of public demands for intervention by the United Nations

and the efforts of Governments to satisfy those demands by passing resolutions in the Security Council, United Nations peacekeeping missions were being sent to places in which armed conflicts were still raging and some of the parties did not even want their presence. At the same time, disagreements within the Security Council could in practice result in ambiguities and vagueness in defining the purposes of peacekeeping operations. It could be argued that, if there was no agreement among decision makers on the goals to be pursued, peacekeeping commitments should not be made.

15. Second, closer coordination was needed between humanitarian activities and peacekeeping operations. As the number of humanitarian organizations increased, the competition among them to secure a greater share of governmental aid and public sponsorship intensified. Many humanitarian organizations had objectives which did not necessarily coincide with those of United Nations peacekeeping operations. Third, once the Security Council had taken a decision about a particular peacekeeping operation, the United Nations needed to be able to deploy its troops more quickly and establish a credible presence before a conflict worsened. In that connection, it was encouraging to note that more and more Member States were developing units which could be deployed rapidly. In May 1997, Singapore had become the seventh Member State to sign a memorandum of understand g on standby arrangements.

16. Fourth, the financial costs of mounting and maintaining the increasingly complex peacekeeping operations placed a tremendous strain on the United Nations budget. If the United Nations was to perform its peacekeeping role properly, contributions to peacekeeping must be paid in full and on time. The practice of borrowing from the peacekeeping budget to finance regular budget expenditure in order to resolve the immediate financial situation would certainly not help the cause of United Nations peacekeeping. Furthermore, delays in reimbursements to troop- and equipment-contributing countries, particularly the developing countries, could have serious long-term repercussions on the willingness of Member States to contribute to future peacekeeping operations.

17. Singapore had participated in various peacekeeping activities. In February 1997, Singapore had hosted a conference entitled "Humanitarian interventions and peacekeeping operations: debriefing and lessons". The conference was the third in a series on lessons learned in peacekeeping organized by the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), the Institute of Policy Studies of Singapore, and the National Institute for Research Advancement of Japan. The first conference in the series, held in Singapore in August 1994, had focused on the experience of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia, and the second, held in Singapore in December 1995, had considered the topic "The role and functions of civilian police in peacekeeping operations".

18. **Mr. Lavrov** (Russian Federation) said that the theory and practice of international peacekeeping should continue to be developed through the strengthening of basic and generally recognized principles such as the need for the Security Council's political guidance and control and for impartiality, the consent of the parties and clearly defined mandates. Peacekeeping operations were not an end in themselves, but an important tool for settling conflicts by political means; that function should be clearly reflected in their mandates. Consequently, those mandates should not continue indefinitely and should be adapted as the objectives of each mission were accomplished.

19. A clear distinction must be drawn between peacekeeping operations and peace-enforcement operations. The latter, which were justified in certain cases, should be limited and should be carried out only when authorized by a relevant decision of the Security Council, which must retain political and operational control of such operations. He was concerned about the tendency of some members of the international community to resort to coercive measures and military power while ignoring opportunities for political and diplomatic solutions. The United Nations should take such measures only under exceptional circumstances, once all other means had been exhausted. At the same time, force must be used in a very responsible manner so as not to endanger the safety of United Nations personnel. Operations in which force was used should have clearly defined mandates and should be conducted under the control of the Security Council. Attempts to interpret those mandates according to political circumstances or in order to effect a "creeping revision" of Security Council decisions were unacceptable.

20. Peacekeeping operations with a humanitarian component, which were becoming increasingly important, raised complex political, legal and operational problems. To avoid the "interventionist reflex" which arose in some cases, it was necessary to obtain the consent of the receiving State's Government or of the parties to a conflict. The Russian Federation supported the Security Council's efforts to ensure that the humanitarian objectives laid down in the mandates were clear, attainable and supported by adequate resources.

21. An in-depth examination of the concept of preventive deployment was necessary. It was important to agree in advance on success criteria and an exit strategy, subject to changes in the situation and to the progress made in achieving the objectives of the mandate. The personnel of preventive operations should consist mainly of military observers and the required civilian component rather than military contingents.

22. The general trend towards increasing the proportion of civilian personnel was reflected in the more active use of civilian police in peacekeeping operations. As the experience in Bosnia and Herzegovina had demonstrated, civilian police helped to build confidence and security, to prevent the escalation of conflicts and to lay the foundations for reconstruction. The respective functions of the civilian police and of military personnel should be kept separate.

23. Of particular relevance was the issue of coalition operations, in which the specifics of each situation must be carefully taken into account. Although, in many cases, United Nations peacekeeping operations were preferable to coalition operations, financial constraints justified the conduct, in some cases, of operations by the States concerned in the framework of ad hoc coalitions or multinational forces. Nevertheless, such operations must be fully consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The conduct of enforcement operations by third parties or coalitions should be subject to the approval of the Security Council and should be accountable to that body.

24. The Russian Federation was in favour of better interaction between the United Nations and regional organizations, in accordance with Chapter VIII, Articles 52 and 53, of the Charter of the United Nations. Specific parameters of cooperation and a rational division of labour should be developed, without obscuring the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security. Such interaction was especially important in the context of strengthening cooperation between the United Nations and the Commonwealth of Independent States in settling conflicts in the Commonwealth territory, particularly in Tajikistan. However, the problem of obtaining financial support from the international community for peacekeeping efforts in the Commonwealth was still very acute; the many appeals by the Russian Federation and its Commonwealth partners had not yet met with a constructive response. Given the importance of strengthening the Organization's rapid response capacity, he supported efforts to enhance that capability and to expand its resource base; standby arrangements were the most effective means of attaining that goal. The Russian Federation had submitted specific proposals concerning its practical input in that area, and would shortly sign a memorandum to formalize its participation in that system.

25. The Organization's financial difficulties highlighted the need to improve the cost-effectiveness of peacekeeping, for which purpose a reliable system of logistical and financial support for such operations was needed. He welcomed the initial results of the new procedure for reimbursing troop contributors. With respect to the reform of the scale of assessments, it was important to preserve the principle of the special financial responsibility of the five permanent members of the Security Council. The Organization's financial burden would be reduced if the States directly concerned played a larger role in conflict settlement, particularly by providing services to the United Nations free of charge or on preferential terms. All Member States were obligated to pay their assessments under the peacekeeping budget and, as a first step, to liquidate their existing debt. Recently, the Russian Federation had paid a total of $60 million into the peacekeeping budget; it would make additional payments in the near future.

26. **Mr. Winn** (Myanmar) said that, although the number of peacekeeping operations had increased in the post-cold-war era, it was encouraging to note from the report of the Special Committee (A/52/209) that the establishment of new peacekeeping operations, the total number of personnel involved in them and the average size of operations had decreased. Myanmar supported peacekeeping operations aimed at the cessation of aggression against any State and the restoration of rights to such States. It was important that peacekeeping operations should be carried out in strict observance of the purposes and principles of the Charter, especially the principles of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States, as well as non-intervention in matters of domestic jurisdiction, consent of the parties, impartiality and the non-use of force except in self-defence.

27. Myanmar was concerned about the serious financial constraints facing the United Nations peacekeeping operations. It must be recalled that the Member States were obligated to pay their assessments in full, on time and without conditions, according to the existing special scale of assessments established by the General Assembly. Myanmar, for its part, had always fulfilled its obligations in that regard.

28. In the context of the current efforts by the international community to strengthen the United Nations, it was crucial to maintain and improve the Organization's ability to plan,

manage and conduct peacekeeping missions. His delegation was pleased that the Secretary-General intended to continue to improve the structure and organization of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and shared the view that it was important to hold consultations between the Security Council, troop-contributing countries and the Secretariat in order to enhance transparency and coordination, thereby contributing to greater effectiveness and success.

29. His country's involvement in peacekeeping operations dated back to 1958, when it had contributed military personnel to the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF). Subsequently, it had also participated in a series of United Nations military observer groups and had maintained its support and commitment to peacekeeping operations. His Government had responded favourably to the Secretary-General's request to contribute personnel and equipment to standby arrangements. Concerning improvements to that system, his delegation believed that the effective implementation of such arrangements would significantly reduce the response time for deployment of peacekeepers in emergency situations. It also supported the enlargement of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations; the latter played an invaluable role as a forum for the discussion and further development of such operations.

30. His delegation recognized that peace and development went hand in hand. Most current conflicts were intrastate conflicts; his delegation thus welcomed the growing cooperation between regional organizations, which had a role to play in addressing those conflicts, and the United Nations. Humanitarian strategies and long-term development aims must be integrated fully into the overall peacekeeping effort which would become a major priority in the years to come.

31. **Mr. Phommahaxay** (Lao People's Democratic Republic) endorsed the statement made at the previous meeting by the representative of Thailand on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Member States must work collectively to project an image of peacekeeping operations as an accountable and effective instrument for handling conflict situations. It was therefore essential to review the whole concept of United Nations peacekeeping operations in all their aspects, to draw lessons from past experience, to strengthen existing mechanisms and to adopt new pragmatic approaches so as to safeguard the continued viability of such operations.

32. His delegation believed that peacekeeping operations should not be the preferred method of containing conflicts, and therefore, that every effort should be made to seek early resolution of problems through more frequent recourse to Chapter VI of the Charter. In the course of enhancing peacekeeping operations, it was essential to pay particular attention to the strict observance of some of the important basic principles, namely, consent of the parties, impartiality and non-use of force except in self-defence, as well as respect for the principle of sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of States. Equally important was the need for a clearly defined mandate, objectives, command structure and secure financing, and for the duration of each mission to be clearly spelled out.

33. His delegation was gravely concerned by the financial crisis confronting the United Nations, and recalled that all Member States, developed and developing alike, must pay their assessed contributions in full and on time in accordance with the existing scale of assessment. His delegation was also concerned by questions relating to the rapidly deployable mission headquarters unit and would welcome further information, since implementation of the latter encompassed many important matters regarding staffing, functions and finance. It was important to highlight the need for transparency and respect for the principle of equitable geographical distribution. Another means of increasing the effectiveness and rapid deployment capacity of peacekeeping operations was the further development of standby arrangements. His delegation was of the view that any efforts aimed at enhancing peacekeeping capabilities should be based on further refinement and development of that useful system, rather than on the development of new systems, since the United Nations faced serious financial constraints.

34. Finally, his delegation wished to comment on the measures regarding peacekeeping operations contained in the report of the Secretary-General entitled "Renewing the United Nations: A Programme for Reform" (A/51/950). With respect to Action 3, intended to phase out the use of gratis personnel, his delegation supported the position of the Group of 77 and China on the need for transparency in the implementation of General Assembly resolution 51/243. With regard to Action 4, because of the varying circumstances prevailing in the field, it might not be possible for the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to have authority over all United Nations entities in the field.

35. *Mr. Mounkhou (Mongolia), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.*

36. **Mr. Zaqueu** (Mozambique) said that the issue before the Committee was of paramount importance to his delegation. Now that the Cold War was over and pluralistic democracy held sway, the only way to ensure lasting peace and international security was through cooperation, not

confrontation. His delegation endorsed the statement made by the representative of Thailand on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, but it would like to add some points of special concern.

37. The report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations highlighted the main achievements and concerns in that area. His delegation shared the view that preventive diplomacy and deployment could help prevent the escalation of conflicts; thus, it supported the efforts under way in the United Nations to enhance the system of standby arrangements. For that system to work effectively, the mandate of peacekeeping operations would have to be as clear as possible and be matched with available resources. There must be coordination between the various departments of the Secretariat and the components of the missions, and between the missions themselves and other organizations involved in related tasks, including humanitarian aid. The respective spheres of action of the General Assembly and the Security Council should be clear and should be respected.

38. Scepticism over the financing of peacekeeping operations must be avoided, and it was essential for Member States to pay their dues on time and without conditions. The basic guiding principles of peacekeeping operations – impartiality, consent of the parties, and non-use of force except in self-defence – must be respected. In order to guarantee the success of such operations and to promote international peace and security, it was also necessary to respect the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States, and non-intervention in matters that were essentially within the latter's domestic jurisdiction. In that regard, his delegation welcomed the efforts to establish a code of conduct for peacekeepers and parties to conflicts.

39. The end of a war was no more than the beginning of a long and hard process of post-conflict peace-building which would require confidence-building measures, consolidation of democracy and economic development. The experience of Mozambique demonstrated that the political will of the parties concerned in solving their differences and creating an environment conducive to development was an important tool to guarantee the foundations of a lasting peace. The consolidation of peace and democracy must reflect common desires and aspirations to live together in harmony within diversity and tolerance. Such a course of action would facilitate the development and strengthening of a culture of peace as a fundamental tool of conflict prevention.

40. **Ms. Williams** (Jamaica) said that her delegation associated itself with the statement made by the representative of Thailand, on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on the agenda item under consideration. Jamaica welcomed the decision taken in General Assembly resolution 51/136 to expand the membership of the Special Committee, which enabled her country to participate in its work as a member and would also enrich the debate and ensure that decisions were taken on a more informed basis. That would also lead to more openness and transparency in the work of the United Nations, which was a goal of the reform proposals.

41. Jamaica fully supported the recommendation in paragraph 51 of the report of the Special Committee (A/52/209), that the principle of a standardized rate of mission subsistence allowance should extend to death and disability compensation for all observers and troops participating in peacekeeping operations. In that regard, her delegation welcomed the adoption of General Assembly resolution 51/218, as well as the Secretary-General's intention to phase out the use of gratis personnel in the Secretariat.

42. There was no doubt that the proposal to establish the rapidly deployable mission headquarters had proved to be somewhat controversial. In keeping with the principles of openness and transparency, Jamaica subscribed to the view that any proposals and measures to enhance the United Nations peacekeeping capacity should be submitted for consideration by the Special Committee since the rapidly deployable mission headquarters was an important complement to the existing standby arrangements system. Jamaica supported the recommendations set forth in the 1995 report of the Special Committee, and endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 50/30. It should be pointed out that the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries also supported that position.

43. Jamaica fully recognized that, while there was a downward trend in the number of peacekeeping operations, situations such as the one that had recently arisen in the Congo demonstrated the need for a mechanism like the rapidly deployable mission headquarters, which, in the case of the Congo, could have led to less instability. With regard to the standby high-readiness brigade, Jamaica shared the concern expressed by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries regarding the apparently exclusive character of that initiative and believed that any such initiative should not undermine the ability of Member States, particularly troop-contributing countries, to participate in United Nations peacekeeping operations.

44. The proposal of the Secretary-General to transfer demining activities from the Department of Humanitarian Affairs to the Department of Peacekeeping Operations required further clarification, particularly in view of paragraph 65 of the 1997 report of the Special Committee (A/52/209). While Jamaica welcomed the recommendation of the Secretary-General for the use of a model status-of-forces agreement, it wished to stress the bilateral character of such an agreement, which must be negotiated and agreed to between the host Government and the United Nations. State sovereignty should be fully respected in those negotiations.

45. While her country welcomed the adoption at the current session of the General Assembly of two of the four texts considered in the Agenda for Peace discussions on coordination and sanctions, it regretted that it had not been possible to adopt the two remaining texts on preventive diplomacy and peacemaking and on post-conflict peace-building. In that regard, she stressed the need to bear in mind the key role of the General Assembly with regard to those activities, a position which the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries also supported. Furthermore, agreement should be reached on the definition of the term "preventive action" in order to gain a better understanding of what precisely was being contemplated.

46. There was no doubt that civilian police had played and continued to play, especially in the case of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH), an increasingly positive role in restoring civil order and the power of the democratically elected Government, and assisting the national police in promoting civilian reconciliation. The people of Haiti should continue to enjoy the support of the international community in order to promote democracy and economic and social development.

47. According to the conclusions reached in numerous studies and reports on the child victims of armed conflicts, it was extremely disturbing to note that most of the children who perished in wartime died of starvation or sickness due to the destruction of medical services, water supplies and food sources. In that regard, Jamaica welcomed the appointment by the Secretary-General of the Special Representative on Children and Armed Conflict.

48. **Mr. Zaki** (Egypt) underscored the importance of peacekeeping operations and said that, over the years, Egypt had carried out its responsibilities in that regard and hoped to continue to contribute, in accordance with its possibilities and when necessary, to the work of the Organization in that area. There was no doubt about the important role played by the United Nations in that field in accordance with the Charter and, in that respect, his country wished to draw attention to several questions of particular importance.

49. Egypt, which was about to complete its mandate as a member of the Security Council, was concerned about the growing trend within the Council not to undertake peacekeeping operations in the conflicts that had arisen in the past two years, even though all the circumstances justifying them under the Charter had existed. Although his country recognized that peacekeeping operations had financial consequences, in the Security Council those considerations should not take precedence over the Council's role and responsibility under the Charter. Further, that tendency should not be based on a lack of political will to resolve a specific crisis.

50. In the same connection, Egypt underscored the importance of preventive diplomacy as a way of enhancing the capacity and effectiveness of the United Nations in intervening before a crisis erupted. Likewise, when the United Nations decided to intervene, the peacekeeping operation must be carried out in an effective manner in order to re-establish peace and security as speedily as possible. His country supported the call to establish clearly defined mandates, objectives and command structures and ensure transparency in decision-making as well as the use of preventive deployment, provided that initiative was based on a consensus in the Organization. Egypt hoped that the consultation mechanism between the Security Council and troop-contributing countries would continue to improve.

51. Not only had the financial crisis of the Organization not been resolved, it had extended to the budget for peacekeeping operations since use was being made of loans and funds from that budget. That had led to delays in reimbursing troop-contributing countries. Egypt also underscored the need for States to pay their assessments in full and on time as well as the special responsibility in that regard of the States permanent members of the Security Council. It was also important to stress the progress made concerning the standardized rate for death and disability compensation.

52. His country took note of the initiatives of the non-African countries to help African States in the field of peacekeeping operations and hoped to be able to share its own experience in that regard. Egypt also noted the plan under way to reduce the Organization's dependence on loaned personnel. It was hoped the plan would be implemented in view of the importance of that question for the Department of Peacekeeping Operations.

53. **Mr. Traore** (Burkina Faso) said that the report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (A/52/209)

contained an exhaustive analysis of the concerns expressed by States and highlighted the need to seek new ways of limiting conflicts, thereby substantially reducing costly peacekeeping operations. His delegation supported the Special Committee's recommendation that part of the first day of the fifty-third session of the General Assembly should be dedicated to commemorating those who had served in peacekeeping operations, especially those who had lost their lives under the United Nations flag.

54. His delegation supported the statement delivered by the representative of Thailand on behalf of the non-aligned countries and would limit its own statement to conflict prevention. The establishment by the Organization of African Unity of a mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution demonstrated its will to solve its own problems first and foremost. Other subregional and regional organizations in Africa had also launched conflict prevention and resolution initiatives, such as those taken by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) through its Ceasefire Monitoring Group and through the Protocol on Non-aggression and the Protocol relating to Mutual Assistance on Defence, to which a number of West African countries were parties. His delegation wished to see a genuine rapprochement between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations with regard to questions of international peace and security.

55. Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations referred to the concept of preventing situations which might lead to a breach of the peace. His delegation believed in the fundamental value of preventive diplomacy and reaffirmed its support for the principles of respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States and non-interference in countries' internal affairs.

56. The end of the cold war and the slowdown of the arms race, which had absorbed huge sums, had given the world fresh hope that the international community could calmly focus on development issues. Unfortunately, far from increasing, official development assistance, in the case of Africa, had declined considerably. His delegation believed that the foremost variable to be taken into account in conflict prevention was development, a belief which was borne out by the fact that the international community had frequently disbursed millions of dollars, through the United Nations, to stabilize conflict situations to no avail, because the development component had not been taken into account.

57. Another topic for discussion in relation to the concept of conflict prevention was education, which could not be dissociated from development either. Many normative instruments had already defined the cardinal principles of education for peace and human rights.

58. Differences between States could lead to conflict. When conciliation, mediation and arbitration failed, a legal solution might be successful. Accordingly, the role that an international institution such as the International Court of Justice could play in preventive diplomacy should be studied.

59. **Mr. Fils-Aimé** (Haiti) said that more than 1,400 peacekeepers had died, over half of them during the past four years, defending the elderly, women and children who had been victims of violence, intolerance and xenophobia. It was fitting that the international community should pay eternal homage to those martyrs to peace, security and freedom.

60. While man was the product of history, he also had the power and the duty to change its course and bend it to his own will. The United Nations could not remain impassive when international peace and security were threatened and when civil, ethnic, cultural or religious conflicts took a turn that was universally judged unconscionable. In that context, his delegation welcomed the special emphasis placed by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on the concept of conflict prevention, management and resolution and called for greater cooperation between the United Nations and OAU in that area.

61. His delegation also believed that it was particularly important to develop appropriate structures, at Headquarters and in the field, to ensure proper staffing during periods of low- and high-intensity activity in peacekeeping. Somalia and the former Yugoslavia exemplified the sad outcome of peacekeeping operations where the rules of engagement were not clearly defined. However, recognition must be given to the hope, the encouragement, the atmosphere of reconciliation and the climate of peace and security which those operations had brought on numerous occasions to the populations which had been victims of conflicts. In the case of Haiti, after the *coup d'état* of 30 September 1991, the entire international community, particularly the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States and Friends of the Secretary-General for Haiti, had backed the fight to restore the rule of law. However, the valiant members of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH), the International Civilian Mission in Haiti (MICIVIH), the United Nations Support Mission in Haiti (UNSMIH) and the United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH) deserved special praise: while the initiatives, resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council had helped to change Haiti's course and steer it towards democracy, the physical presence of United Nations personnel on the ground

had been necessary to demonstrate to those who caused the problems that the international community was firmly resolved to restore order and consolidate the Government.

62. He stressed the importance of carrying out peacekeeping operations on the basis of absolute impartiality and the consent of the parties and without using force, except in cases of self-defence, as a *sine qua non* for success.

63. In order for peace to be viable, it must be based on economic and social development and vice versa. Cooperation with Member States must be strengthened through economic and social assistance programmes in order to upgrade the standard of living of their populations. Considering the nightmarish suffering and squalor in which people lived, if the United Nations lacked long-term plans for promoting economic growth and social welfare, peacekeeping operations would have little value. An encouraging note in that connection was the Haiti 2012 initiative, sponsored by the United Nations Development Programme, which sought to promote national economic, social and institutional development.

64. **Mr. Hasmy** (Malaysia) said that his delegation associated itself with the statement made by the representative of Thailand, on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, on the agenda item under consideration and joined with other delegations in paying tribute to those who had lost their lives in the service of the United Nations.

65. Peacekeeping operations had been scaled down over the past three years. Present conflicts were also largely intra-State in nature. Those conflicts had not only affected the nature of peacekeeping but also put a strain on the traditional multilateral framework for solving them. Nevertheless, peacekeeping operations remained an important instrument of the Organization in the maintenance of international peace and security. His delegation believed that scrupulous adherence to the Charter of the United Nations and respect for the basic principles of peacekeeping, such as the consent of the parties concerned, impartiality and the non-use of force except for self-defence, were essential to the success and legitimacy of such operations.

66. Drawing on the experience of recent years, Member States were now more aware of the risks associated with launching operations without sufficient resources to fulfil their mandates. The international community now had a clearer understanding not only of the continuing usefulness of peacekeeping but also of its limitations. It was important that peacekeeping operations should have clearly defined mandates, objectives and command structures. Those mandates should include measurable objectives that would help to determine progress and the duration of the mission.

67. Malaysia supported the Secretary-General's positive orientation towards the prevention of conflicts and believed that the concept of "preventive action" outlined in his reform programme (A/51/950) should be deliberated by Member States in the General Assembly. Since adequate financial resources and support were also crucial to the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations, his delegation wished to reiterate that Member States should pay their dues in full, on time and without conditions so as not to undermine the effectiveness of the operations. His delegation was concerned about the delay in reimbursing troop-contributing countries, particularly developing countries, which could affect their ability to contribute to future peacekeeping operations.

68. Malaysia was also concerned about the increased dependency on gratis personnel, who hailed mainly from developed countries, thereby distorting the principle of equitable geographical distribution. According to the report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (A/52/209), there had been a further increase in the number of military officers on loan, despite the fact that Member States, particularly developing countries, had repeatedly called for that practice to be terminated.

69. Malaysia recognized the need for a rapid deployment capability and supported the establishment of a system of standby arrangements. However, his delegation had noted that of late certain Member States had taken an initiative to form their own standby units. It would be in the interest of all Member States if such an initiative were to be presented to the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, which had been mandated to consider all aspects of peacekeeping. Since most peacekeeping operations involved developing countries either as recipients or troop contributors, it was therefore essential that any discussion on peacekeeping matters should include representatives of the developing countries.

70. His delegation believed that there should be greater transparency with regard to procurement for peacekeeping operations and that the developing countries should have an equal opportunity for goods and services of equivalent standard and price from their countries, particularly those which had contributed troops to be used. His delegation also believed, all other factors being equal, that preference should be given to procurements from Member States that had fulfilled their financial obligations to the Organization.

71. **Mr. Park Soo Gil** (Republic of Korea) said that in recent years there had been a significant downsizing of

United Nations peacekeeping operations, both in terms of their number and scale. Particularly noteworthy was the fact that no new peacekeeping operation had been undertaken in the last two years. Despite that trend, and given the growing prevalence of intra-State conflicts, his delegation believed that future peacekeeping operations should be prepared for more demanding and multidimensional tasks. With that in mind, in May the Republic of Korea had organized an open debate on the issue of protecting humanitarian assistance in conflict situations.

72. His delegation hoped that the reform process would provide a healthy impetus to the ongoing efforts to enhance the efficiency of peacekeeping operations. The Republic of Korea welcomed the measures proposed by the Secretary-General in his programme for reform (A/51/950), including the establishment of an Executive Committee for Peace and Security and the designation of the Department of Political Affairs as the focal point in the United Nations Secretariat for post-conflict peace-building.

73. The rapid deployment capability was another essential ingredient in strengthening the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations. The Republic of Korea believed that a rapidly deployable mission headquarters should be established as soon as possible, and hoped that the principle of equitable geographical representation would be applied to the staff of that new unit. His delegation also wished to see further progress in the standby arrangements, for which the Republic of Korea had already earmarked some 800 military personnel, including engineering and medical units.

74. Another important contribution to the United Nations rapid reaction capability was the newly established Multinational Standby Forces High-Readiness Brigade (SHIRBRIG). As the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea had pointed out at the third ministerial meeting of the Friends of Rapid Deployment the previous September, SHIRBRIG and other regional initiatives would provide a valuable supplement to the United Nations Standby Arrangements System.

75. The daunting task of peacekeeping could not be carried out without adequate financial resources. The Republic of Korea noted with concern that the delay in reimbursements to troop-contributing countries had been significantly protracted, and supported the proposal that priority be given in reimbursement to those Member States that had fulfilled their financial obligations. His delegation was also pleased to inform the Committee that, to demonstrate its strong commitment both to the financial viability of the United Nations and to the Organization's function as a guardian of international peace and security, the Republic of Korea was preparing to move gradually from Group C to Group B in its peacekeeping assessment category.

76. His Government viewed with grave concern the attacks and acts of violence against peacekeepers and associated personnel. It noted with satisfaction, therefore, the statement issued the previous March by the President of the Security Council urging host countries to take all necessary measures to ensure the safety and security of United Nations and associated personnel. The Republic of Korea expected to quickly complete the domestic process required for ratifying the Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel. It hoped that other Member States which had not yet ratified the Convention would consider doing so, with a view to assuring its entry into force at the earliest possible date.

77. **Mr. Núñez Mosquera** (Cuba) said that his delegation fully supported the statement delivered at the Committee's previous session by the delegation of Thailand on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement. United Nations peacekeeping operations had played a fundamental role in preventing the intensification of conflicts and in consolidating international peace. However, they could not be considered a substitute for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Peacekeeping operations could be successful only if they were carried out in strict observance of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, particularly those relating to full respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and of non-intervention in their internal affairs. Peacekeeping operations must be founded on the consent of the States concerned, impartiality and restriction of the use of force to cases of self-defence. It was therefore necessary before launching the operations to define clear and specific terms of reference, set realistic goals and guarantee adequate resources for their execution.

78. Cuba rejected the application of peacekeeping operations to cases of internal conflict and opposed the inclusion in their mandates of tasks which were essentially matters within the domestic jurisdiction of States, such as, for example, monitoring of elections, observation of human rights enforcement and the establishment of political or legal systems. Moreover, Cuba applauded the adoption of General Assembly resolution 51/243, in which the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to phase out the use of type II gratis personnel. The prompt implementation of that resolution would be a first step towards a lasting solution of the disturbing situation that now existed in the staffing of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. It was common knowledge that the majority of so-called "loaned personnel" were from developed countries, and that many of them had been assigned to key posts in that Department. Among other

negative consequences, that situation created an imbalance that adversely affected the representation of developing countries.

79. The financing of peacekeeping operations was a collective responsibility. His delegations continued to view with concern the attitude of the major contributor, which was withholding its payments in an effort to achieve its political and other objectives. That attitude was totally incompatible with the obligations assumed under Article 17 of the United Nations Charter.

80. To put peacekeeping operations on a more financially stable basis, it was essential that the current special scale of assessments should be institutionalized. His delegation hoped that the General Assembly would take that action during its current session.

81. The nature of the activities undertaken by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations required that they should be financed from the support account. Cuba was not in favour of shifting that source of funding to the regular budget. Moreover, it was essential that the United Nations should duly reimburse the countries participating in peacekeeping operations, especially those whose resources were limited.

82. The United Nations Standby Arrangements System was a basis for continuing to pursue the objective of reducing the interval between the time a decision was made to initiate a peacekeeping operation and the time the troops reached the designated site and the undertaking became operational. Although various suggestions had been made on ways to reduce needless delays in the deployment of peacekeeping operations, they could not be given effect without a careful preparatory examination by the Special Committee of their complex political, legal, practical and financial implications.

83. It was important to ensure that the demining activities carried out by the Department of Humanitarian Affairs were not affected. His delegation had serious reservations regarding the proposal to transfer those humanitarian activities to the Department of Peacekeeping Operations; the question should be thoroughly reviewed before any final decision was taken. With regard to cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations for the maintenance of international peace and security, such organizations could play an important role in the context of Chapter VIII of the Charter, without detriment to the sovereign right of Member States, under Article 35 of the Charter, to bring any dispute to a universal authority, whether or not a given regional organization was dealing with the matter.

84. Lastly, he expressed his delegation's satisfaction at the decision to expand the membership of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and at the adoption of General Assembly resolution 51/136, since those developments had led to greater transparency and trust in its deliberations. Nevertheless, Cuba was in favour of an open-ended Special Committee, in which all States Members of the Organization would have an equal opportunity to make a direct contribution to the discharge of the important mandate entrusted to the Special Committee.

85. **Mr. Al-Adgham** (Kuwait) said that, in addition to their fundamental role of reducing tension and solving conflicts, peacekeeping operations now had new functions, such as humanitarian assistance, monitoring human rights, civilian policing and reconstruction assistance, all of which were essential to the maintenance of international peace and security. While the number and cost of peacekeeping operations had declined, his delegation was of the view that their successful conduct required the clear definition of the mandates, objectives and command structures of each mission.

86. In addition, States must undertake to pay their contributions in full and on time, in accordance with the special peacekeeping scale established by the General Assembly. It was also necessary to promote ongoing coordination between the Security Council and troop-contributing countries so as to increase the effectiveness of operations at all stages. There was, as well, a need to strengthen United Nations early warning and preventive diplomacy functions. In that connection he trusted that the Secretary-General's and Special Committee's initiatives would be successful and that adequate support would be given to standby arrangements so that peacekeeping operations could attain their objectives.

87. Since 1991, the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) had been in Kuwaiti territory to supervise the ceasefire in the demilitarized zone in compliance with Security Council resolutions 687 (1991) and 806 (1993). His delegation was aware of the importance of UNIKOM to security in the region, which was threatened by Iraq. Accordingly, in 1993 Kuwait had decided to meet two thirds of the Mission's budget, so that the financial difficulties encountered by other operations would not affect its mandate.

88. Since then Kuwait had not only discharged its international commitments, but had defrayed the cost of peacekeeping operations beyond those commitments. In addition, since 1991, Kuwait had offered UNIKOM various services, including civilian, administrative and military

services, to help it to discharge its mandate. Kuwait had also established close dialogue and coordination with the UNIKOM command and members, and, to resolve any difficulties, had established a UNIKOM liaison office comprising members of government organs.

89. Lastly, his delegation fully supported the recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee (A/52/209), especially those relating to the financing of peacekeeping operations and the safety and security of their personnel.

90. **Mr. Erwa** (Sudan) said that his delegation endorsed the statement made by the representative of Thailand on behalf of the movement of Non-Aligned Countries. A clear distinction must be maintained between peacekeeping operations and other types of field operations, such as humanitarian assistance operations. Similarly, there was a need for a clear distinction between peacekeeping and peace-enforcement operations. It was inadmissible to mix elements of both types of operation, since that, as experience had shown, could undermine the viability of peacekeeping operations and pose a serious threat to the lives of peacekeeping personnel in the field. In that regard, the provisions of the United Nations Charter applicable to such operations must be respected.

91. The need to observe the principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations regarding non-intervention in the internal affairs of States was increasingly evident. Peacekeeping operations must not serve as a pretext to undermine the sovereignty of some States and the multinational missions sent by the Security Council must take into account the basic principles established for such operations, such as consent of the parties.

92. While the United Nations Charter entrusted the Security Council with responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the United Nations must work with regional organizations. In that regard he underlined the importance of such cooperation, in particular with the Organization of African Unity, in conflict resolution and prevention in Africa. Further, he urged greater support for civilian policing in the context of peacekeeping operations, and welcomed the initiative to provide training and assistance to the units involved to enable them to discharge their functions successfully.

93. He agreed with the statement by the Secretary-General in paragraph 114 of his report on renewing the United Nations (A/51/950) regarding peacekeeping operations, since serious financial constraints had often affected the establishment and proper functioning of such operations. Furthermore, peacekeeping accounts had had to be used to cover shortfalls in the United Nations regular budget. The result had been delays in payments to troop-contributing countries. That was an intolerable situation that could not be allowed to continue. A uniform scale of assessments should be applied to ensure greater equity.

94. Lastly, peacekeeping operations should not be used as a substitute for addressing the root causes of the conflict. Those causes should be addressed in a coherent, well-planned, coordinated and comprehensive manner with political, social, economic and developmental instruments.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.